## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 08988 01 OF 02 041754Z

44

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00

NSC-05 BIB-01 NRC-05 FEAE-00 OES-03 AF-06 ARA-06

NEA-10 /125 W

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R 041739Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0525

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 08988

GENEVA FOR US DEL REVCON

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, GW

SUBJECT: NPT REVCOH: FG VIEWS

REFTEL: GENEVA 4095

BEGIN SUMMARY: EMBOFF DISCUSSED OUTCOME OF NPT REVCON WITH FONOFF ARMS CONTROL OFFICE DIRECTOR ANDREAE WHO HAD FOLLOWED CONFERENCE DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY AND HAD PARTICIPATED IN SOME OF THE SESSIONS. ANDREAE'S FEELING WAS THAT THE OUTCOME WAS "NOT A BAD ONE" WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 08988 01 OF 02 041754Z

FINAL DOCUMENT BEING "WELL BALANCED." THE FRG NEVER

HAD PARTICULARLY HIGH HOPES FOR ANY GREAT NEW IDEAS EMERGING FROM THE REVIEW CONFERENCE. ANDREAE SAID HE HIMSELF HAD ALWAYS CONSIDERED IT TO BE A "DEFENSIVE" MANEUVER ON THE PART OF THE WEST. END SUMMARY

- 1. ANDREAE BEGAN BY NOTING THAT THE MOST NOTABLE FEATURE OF THE CONFERENCE WAS THE DIVISION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THIS DIVISION HAD ALREADY BECOME CLEAR IN ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. NOW IT WAS APPEARING IN TECHNICAL CONFERENCES SUCH AS THIS ONE. THUS, ONE HAD THE ODD SIGHT OF THE US WORKING WITH THE USSR AND THE FRG FINDING NOTHING OBJECTIONABLE IN POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE GDR. ANDREAE STATED THAT THE FRG WAS HAPPY WITH THE CLOSE CONTACT ITS DELEGATION HAD HAD WITH THOSE OF OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY WITH THE U.S., EVEN THOUGH THERE WERE "SHADES OF DIFFERENCE" BETWEEN NUCLEAR AND NON-NUCLEAR POWERS WITHIN THE WESTERN GROUP.
- 2. RETURNING TO THE FRG'S ASSESSMENT THAT THE NPT REVCON "COULD HAVE BEEN WORSE"; ANDREAE SAID IT "LOOKED WORSE" FOR SEVERAL DAYS; I.E., WHEN IT APPEARED THAT THE CONFERENCE MIGHT BREAK UP AT ANY MOMENT WITH NO AGREEMENT OVER A FINAL DOCUMENT. DISCUSSING THE FINAL SEQUENCE OF EVENTS SO GRAPHICALLY DESCRIBED IN REFTEL, ANDREAE REFERRED TO THE "REMARKABLE PERFORMANCE" OF THE SWEDISH PRESIDENT, MADAME THORSSON. IT WAS DUE TO HER THAT THE CONFERENCE DID NOT BREAK UP AND THAT NONE OF THE DELEGATIONS WALKED OUT. ANDREAE DID FEEL THAT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A FINAL DOCUMENT WITHOUT HER, BUT IT WOULD HAVE TAKEN ANOTHER WEEK AND THE CONFERENCE DID NOT HAVE THAT MUCH TIME.
- 3. ANDREAE DESCRIBED SOME OF THE "FANTASTIC REQUESTS" OF THE GROUP OF 77. OF THESEATIONS, THE YUGOSLAVS, ROMANIANS, AND MEXICANS WERE THE NOISIEST, HE SAID.
- 4. REVIEWING THE FINAL DOCUMENT, ANDREAE NOTED THAT

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BONN 08988 01 OF 02 041754Z

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 08988 02 OF 02 041755Z

44

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 08988

ARTICLES 1 AND 2 HAD NOT BEEN ATTACKED BY ANY DELEGATION: THE IDEA OF NON-PROLIFERATION IS ACCEPTED; "SO IS THE NEED FOR SAFEGUARDS." THE CONFERENCE WORK IS A STIMULUS FOR OTHER BODIES TO TAKE UP NON-PROLIFERATION; FOR EXAMPLE, THE CCD. INSOFAR AS ARTICLES 3 AND 4 ARE CONCERNED, THE FRG IS "SATISFIED": SAFEGUARDS ARE PRESENTED IN A MODERATE WAY, AS IS THE PROBLEM OF TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY. AS FOR ARTICLE 5, THE IDEA OF WORKING WITH IAEA IS "ACCEPTABLE" TO THE FRG. IN SHORT, THE FRG HAS "NOTHING AGAINST" WHAT EMERGED FROM THE REVIEW CONFERENCE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 08988 02 OF 02 041755Z

5. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, HOWEVER, THE FRG NOTED THAT ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF THE TREATY SIGNATORIES DID NOT TAKE PART IN THE CONFERENCE. WHAT EFFECT THIS WILL HAVE IS NOT YET CLEAR. MOREOVER, SOME DELEGATIONS FELT "CHEATED" WHEN THE FINAL DOCUMENT DID NOT HIGHLIGHT THEIR OBJECTIONS. IT IS ALSO UNCLEAR WHETHER THE NPT REVCON WILL IN FACT RESULT IN NEW SUPPORT FOR THE NON-PROLIFERATION IDEA. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IT WILL BE LOOKED AT AS JUST A LOT OF WORDS AND INTEREST IN NON-PROLIFERATION WILL NOW DIMINISH. FINALLY, THE SPECIAL STATEMENTS DO TEND TO TAKE AWAY FROM THE EFFECT OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT, ALTHOUGH IN THE COURSE OF TIME THESE SPECIAL STATEMENTS WILL PROBABLY BE FORGOTTEN AND ONLY THE DOCUMENT ITSELF REMEMBERED.

6. COMMENT: NOT EVEN TWO CHEERS FROM THE FRG FOR THE NPT REVCON. PERHAPS ONE AND ONE-HALF. HILLENBRAND

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